5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NV28
Pima NV29

neither tribe participated. There were no community fields, but families worked reciprocally. Among the Papago, these family enterprises were under the leadership of a patriarchal chief chosen by the people for life, there being but one chief to each village. The Pima agricultural unit also was the village, and, as Hill[9] points out, the necessity of communal endeavor in irrigation and for protection against alien tribes tended to solidify these village units. They were under the control of a village headman whose office was inherited and who was responsible only to the chief of the tribe and to public opinion.

Pima habitations were not then scattered as now. Families lived close together on high ground for protection, particularly after Apache raids became serious, and daily went out to work their plots as much as six to eight miles distant. During planting and hoeing periods they returned each night to their homes, but at harvest time camped at the fields.

Bringing a new tract of Pima land under cultivation and irrigation required coöperation of the men in the one or more districts which were to be benefitted, so as to arrange, dispose and dig the ditches. Under leadership of the headmen of the villages affected, meetings were held to plan the work. Hill[10] has pointed out that Pima land assignments under native custom were accomplished in two ways. When a large tract was to be developed it involved the coöperative efforts of individuals from one to three villages. Qualified men first selected the land and located the course of the canal. Then the community, under the direction of the headmen, constructed the canal from the river to the selected area. This completed, the men who had participated chose or were assigned plots of land under the supervision of the headmen assisted by an advisory body, but not all participants shared equally. The second type of assignment concerned a single individual. A man applied to the village headman, and a

[9] Hill, *Notes on Pima Land Law and Tenure.*
[10] *Ibid.*

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

plot was designated for him. In both cases assigned land became inalienable property of the assignee and his heirs. Use of the land was under the direction of the patriarchal head of the family, whose influence was partly inherited and partly due to experience and personal magnetism, and whose only coercive force was public opinion.

Our information indicates that, despite the above, any individual who wanted to and could develop a piece of idle, unclaimed land could do so without specific allotment. The situation seems to be that aboriginally land was secured by inheritance or selected individually, and only more recently has allotment been practiced. Spier[11] is probably right in suspecting that distribution by allotment, similar to the Maricopa practice, dates from the time the Pima were located on the reservations.

Pima and Papago lands were considered as belonging to the tribe, although held individually. A person had the right to loan land in case he was not using it himself, but sale and, among the Papago, trade of land was unknown. In case of a loan no charge was made, and quarrels over the ownership or right to use a piece of land were settled by two men who knew the land and parties involved. Hill[12] has discussed the Pima procedure regarding the rental of lands. Neither Pima nor Papago ever resorted to pushing contests, tugs of war or stick fights to settle disputed boundaries, as did the Mohave. Difficulties over the limits of a Papago's land resulting from the washing away of the stones or stakes which marked the corners of his field were always adjudicated amicably by conference.

Personal ownership of land has been somewhat modified since post-Spanish concepts have disturbed the original situation. Anciently, however, title to the land was vested in men, and land was inherited essentially in the male line, although all members of the family had a right to its use and products.

11 Spier, *Yuman Tribes*, p. 59n.
12 Hill, *op. cit.*

The rapidity with which the level of ground water in the Casa Grande Valley is being lowered now threatens the life of the entire Chuichu project. During 1962 the one remaining productive well on the west side was choked with silt during an early fall flood on the Santa Cruz, reducing its capacity from 750 to 250 gallons per minute. Since this well had already been drilled to bedrock at 230 feet, and the water level had sunk to within 20 feet of this point, it was decided not to redrill the well. The result will be the abandonment of all farming on the west side and the transfer of Indian holdings (a farming cooperative) to idle land on the east. 241 133 312 311

Even the eastern section, developed after 1955, is threatened with the lowering of the water table at a rate that may cause its abandonment during the next decade.

During 1962 five Indian farmers were growing crops in the eastern section. In addition, the East Chuichu Project (an Indian cooperative) farmed an area of 80 acres of which 40 were planted in cotton. During 1963 the 65-acre cotton allotment on the western side was moved to the eastern section and management of the new land turned over to a non-Indian operator. 248 311 [474]

Development of irrigated agriculture at Gila Bend and at Papago Farms has always depended upon leases to 241 311 427